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ABSTRACT

Indian English is a variety of the English language used as a second language by Indian bilinguals. This paper reports on a computerized survey of the grammar of Indian English, consisting of the classification of 230 expressions "of whose standing there might be some question" by a group of linguists and teachers of English in India, in order to determine the status of these expressions in current Indian English usage. Each expression was classified in one of the following categories: (1) Literary English; (2) Colloquial English; (3) Popular or Illiterate Speech. Results of the survey lead to the conclusions that Indian English is based on written English style, and that there are considerable similarities between Indian English and its sister languages in England, America, and elsewhere. It further appears that not only have Indian languages Indianized the English language, but English has contributed substantially to the Indian languages as well. Indian English can justifiably be viewed as the result of the union of British English and Indian cultural-linguistic context. (DB)

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"Facts About Current Indian English"

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This paper on Indian English is based on data I gathered from a study tour of India and from a computerized linguistic survey I made during this tour. From July 28 to August 18 I traveled widely in India--from Bombay to Trivandrum to Madras to New Delhi to Poona. I visited numerous universities and colleges, talked to Indian and non-Indian professors of English at these institutions, and spoke to Indian students at several institutions. By way of introduction, it is appropriate to begin with a short survey of the history of Indian English.

The English language was brought to India in the seventeenth century by the British. On December 31, 1600, Queen Elizabeth I signed a charter authorizing the East India Company of London to open trade with India and the East.[1] Bilingualism in English was gradually initiated and vigorously supported by three groups at different periods.[2] First, from the beginning, the missionaries opened schools in India and imparted English education to Indian boys and girls with the intent of proselytizing.[3] Second, a group of Indians, fascinated by the technological and scientific progress of England, wanted the introduction of English education in India, hoping that English would prove to be the key to material success and political advancement. Raja Ram Mohan Roy wrote to Lord Amherst on December 11, 1823:

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> When this seminary of learning (Sanskrit school in Calcutta) was proposed, we understand that the government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.[4]

Third, the British government encouraged missionaries to run English schools for the education of English and Anglo-Indian children. Lord Macaulay's policy of producing English-speaking bilingual civil servants in India was made into a law by the passing of the controversial Minutes of 1835. In 1857, three universities were established in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. With the gradual rise of colleges and universities, English became the academic language of India and was looked upon as the "prestige" language. In spite of national movements, the importance of English was not diminished; on the other hand, bilingualism struck deeper roots among the middle class with the spread of college education.

During the British Raj, English, as the official national language, as the language of higher education, and as an international language, attained a unique place of importance in India. Even after India became independent of British rule in 1947, English continued to be the official language up to January 26, 1965, along with Hindi. However, under the Official Language Act of 1963 English may continue to be used even after January 26, 1965, "for all the official purposes of the union

for which it was being used immediately before that day" and "for the transaction of business in Parliament."[5] Due to the violent opposition from non-Hindi speaking South Indians, the Government of India was forced to accept the Chief Ministers' Three Language Formula which insists on the compulsory teaching of the regional language, Hindi--in the Hindi areas another Indian language, and English or any other modern European language.

Today, English continues to function as the language of the Government of India. It is still the language used by courts of lay, institutions of higher education, and banks. Technical, scientific, and administrative writings are still published and read in English; English is the lingua franca of educated people from different parts of India; and it is the only foreign language learned by the vast majority of Indian students. Though it is spoken by less than two per cent of the Indian population, it commands the loyalty and support of the educated people in all Indian states. The importance of the English press can be gauged by the number of the most popular and widely read English newspapers in India, and this number is topped only by the 77 Hindi newspapers and the 69 Urdu ones. The increasing number of English medium grade schools and high schools all over India is another indication of the growing prestige and influence of English.

What variety of English do Indians speak, write, and teach? It is to be admitted that "Educated Indian English" is spoken very differently from British Received Pronunciation after which it is patterned. Halliday, Mc Intosh, and Strevens point out

that "one of the most important changes that took place in the period between 1950 and 1960 was the acceptance that to speak like an Englishman was not the obvious and only aim in teaching English to overseas learners."[6] With fewer native speakers of English in India, Indian English is developing in new directions.

Indian English is as difficult to define as British English and American English. There are dialects in Indian English as there are dialects in British or American English. Older linguists used to distinguish the following types of writings: 1. Anglo-Indian (non-Indian writers' writings about India); 2. Indo-Anglian (Indians who write in English about India); 3. Indo-Anglican (a confusing term for Indo-Anglian); 4. Indo-English (translations by Indians from Indian literature into English); 5. Indian English. The last term, first used by M. R. Anand, V. R. Bhushan, and P. E. Dastoor, is gaining greater currency in linguistic literature.[7] Indian English is a variety of the English language used as a second language (L^2 of J. C. Catford) by Indian bilinguals in an Indian cultural and linguistic context.[8] The Indian bilingual has a dominant primary language, his regional language (L^1 of Catford) like Hindi, Malayalam, or Bengali which he uses with greater facility in a wider range of situations. For some Indians, English has an equal status as his mother tongue. But, for most Indian bilinguals, English is a second language which "belongs to India both culturally and linguistically."[9] The varieties of English used in Britain, Australia, the United States, and Canada are primary languages (L^1). The varieties of Spanish, Polish, Hungarian,and Italian

used by second and third generations of immigrants in the United States and Canada are second languages (L^2). In the sense given above, English is a second language rather than a foreign language in India. In this paper, the cover term "Indian English" is used for that variety of the English language used by "educated" Indians. Thus, Indian English is distinguished from such pidgin languages humorously referred to as Babu English, Butler English, Kitchen English, Cheechee English, and Bearer English. A few examples of un-English expressions of these pidgin dialects are the following: "to marry with," "to make friendship with," "to make one's both ends meet," "America returned," "pin-drop silence," "a failed M. A.," and "a welcome address".

In order to distinguish "educated Indian English," Professor Kachru makes use of the term "Cline of Bilingualism" borrowed from Halliday.[10] The Cline comprises three measuring points; the zero point, the central point, and the ambilingual point indicating a gradation toward an educated form of Indian English. An Indian speaker of English, who ranks above the zero point may be considered a bilingual; Babu English speakers are grouped below the zero point which is not the end point on the scale. A standard or educated user of Indian English ranks somewhere between the central and ambilingual points on the Cline.[11] These educated bilinguals are civil servants, educationists, college graduates, and politicians. The variety or dialect of English they use is influenced considerably by various sub-strata and is found in the English writings of Indians in books, newspapers, and periodicals.

What constitutes educated Indian English are its similarities in phonology, vocabulary, and grammar with British English or American English. What makes Indian English a dialect different from British English and American English are its phonological, lexical, and grammatical differences.

There have been numerous studies on the phonology of Indian English. These were inspired by pedagogical reasons. Pedagogically, this level is still considered the primary level. The limitations of this paper permit me to make only a few observations about the phonology of Indian English. One should distinguish between the phonology of Dravidian English spoken by native speakers of the Dravidian languages: Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam and native speakers of the Indo-European derivations from Sanskrit: Assamese, Bengali, Gujerati, Hindi, Kashmiri, Marathi, Punjabi, and Urdu. The reason for this distinction lies in the fact that the phonological patterns of the primary language influence the learned phonological pattern of English. According to R. K. Bansal, "it is mainly in distribution of the vowel phonemes that the various Indian speakers diverge from the normal R. P. pattern."[12] "Generally speaking, educated Indians have a system of 12 to 14 vowels in their English. These are: [i], [I], [e], [ɛ], [æ], [a], [ɒ], [ɔ], [o], [U], [u], [ʌ], [ə], [ɜ]."[13] "[w] and [v] can be treated as one phoneme for most speakers. [z] does not exist for some speakers. Some speakers use [š] very rarely. [p], [t], and [k] are generally unaspirated in all positions where it occurs in spelling."[14] In Bengali, English <u>same to you</u> becomes <u>shame tc you</u>. This substitution is

due to the influence of the native language phonology. Spelling pronunciations are very common. Indian speakers often stress words differently from, say, the R. P. pattern, because they learn the words from books and not from native speakers.

However, it should be stressed that the main phonological features which separate Indian English from the L^1 varieties of English are not necessarily deviations in the segmental phonemes but deviations in stress, intonation, rhythm, and juncture. Gopalkrishnan makes the following observations on the stress deviations of South Indian speakers of English: 1. There is a general unawareness of the patterns of primary as well as secondary stress: /'mækbəθ/ for /mək'beθ/; 2. There is a tendency to ignore the differentiating stress patterns of nouns, adjectives, and verbs; 3. There is an unawareness of the shift in stress found in different parts of speech derived from the same "Latin or Greek root." (philósophy and philósophical).[15] The main reason for the deviations in stress is that "all the main South Asian Languages are syllable-timed languages, as opposed to English which is a stress-timed language."[16] This may be the reason why Indian English is often called "sing-song" English.

There are two lexical items that demand our attention: one, words of Indian English that are "non-shared" with other varieties of English; the other group is made up of words from Indian languages that are transferred to the other dialects of English. Earlier scholars compiled a list of words belonging to the first group.[17]

As early as 1886, Yule and Burnell published a glossary of

Anglo-Indian words:[18] "Words of Indian origin have been insinuating themselves into English ever since the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth . . . when such terms as calico, chintz, and gingham had already effected a lodgement in English warehouses and shops."[19] In 1893, Fennell listed 336 Hindi (Hindoo), 32 Sanskrit, and 31 Dravidian woes in the English vocabulary.[20] Sergeantsen[21] and Subba Rao[22] also published useful accounts of Indian loan words in English. These studies show the interaction between Indian languages and English.[23]

The grammatical features of Indian English provide an interesting field of study for linguists. There have been studies made on certain grammatical aspects of Indian English. Dustoor has pointed out the absence or misuse of articles in the deictic system of Indian English.[24] The reason for this error is the influence of native Indian languages which do not have any definite articles. Kachru in his doctoral dissertation compared and contrasted the systems of structures of verbal groups and nominal groups of British English and Indian English.[25] His attempt has failed to show any significant difference.

A. F. Kindersley has some interesting observations on certain grammatical features of Indian English:[26] 1. In the reflexive verbs (e.g., enjoy, exert) the reflexive pronoun is omitted. I think this is due to the tendency of Indian languages to shy away from the use of reflexive verbs. 2. In place of transitive verbs, intransitive verbs are used (e.g., reach, waive) or the opposite (e.g., preside, dissent). 3. In constructions, such as verb plus particle (dispose of), there is a tendency to add an extra particle.

My contribution to the study of Indian English is the computerized survey of the grammar of Indian English I made in India last summer (1970). Basically, I used the same test on current usage given by Sterling Leonard and the NCTE in 1927. A list of 230 expressions "of whose standing there might be some question" was submitted by me to a group of 160 judges who are primarily linguists and teachers of English. I made some minor changes in Sterling's list in order to fit it in the Indian situation. Each judge was asked to score on IBM cards according to his observation of actual usage, not on his opinion of what it should be. I received over 120 responses. Some did not comply; 90% of the responses are from linguists and teachers of English in colleges and universities located in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore, and the state of Kerala. I should make the grateful mention that I received more responses from women than men.

Each expression was to be classified in one of the following categories: A. Literary English: "formally correct English, appropriate chiefly for serious and important occasions, whether in speech or writing; usually called Literary English;" B. Colloquial English: "fully acceptable English for informal conversations, correspondence, not wholly appropriate for occasions of literary dignity; standard, cultivated, colloquial English;" C. Popular or Illiterate Speech: "not used by persons who wish to pass as cultivated, except to represent uneducated speech, or to be jocose; here taken to include slang and dialect forms not admissible to the standard or cultivated area; usually

called 'vulgar English,' but with no implication necessarily of the current meaning of vulgar: naive, popular, or uncultivated English."

The informants had considerable difficulty with category C. I should have modified the category as follows: "illiterate speech, not used by persons who wish to pass as cultivated." In the course of my field work, I modified category C. The reason for this change is that English is only a secondary language (L^2) in India and that many informants never came across dialectal expressions such as: "A light-complected girl passed," "Hadn't you ought to ask your mother," "My cold wa'nt any better next day," "If John had of come," and so on. Most informants classified dialectal expressions and expressions they had never encountered under category C, or altogether omitted them.

The answers were sorted and tabulated by a computer. The sorting machine rejected over 25 responses on account of some recording errors. The computer, however, accepted 87 responses and classified the responses into three categories mentioned above. Those expressions which were approved as either literary or colloquial by at least three-fourths of the judges were ranked established; those approved by less than one-fourth were ranked illiterate; and those in between were classified as disputable. By these arbitrary standards, 54 expressions are established (as opposed to 71 of the Leonard Survey); 42 expressions are Illiterate (as opposed to 38 in the Leonard Survey); and 134 are disputable (as opposed to 121 in the Leonard Survey). From this it appears that the judges were rather conservative in their

judgments of grammaticality. It is interesting to note that the following expressions were classified as literary or colloquial: "It's me;" "Reverend Jones will preach;" "You are older than me;" "The data is often inaccurate;" "We will try and get it." The expression older than me shows the tremendous influence of the native languages on Indian English.

A. ESTABLISHED USAGES

1. A Tale of Two Cities is an historical novel.
2. It was I that broke the vase, father.
4. I felt I could walk no further.
10. It is me.
11. One rarely enjoys one's luncheon when one is tired.
19. In this connection, I should add...
20. This is a man... I used to know. (Omitted relative.)
28. I guess I'll go to lunch.
29. You had better stop that foolishness.
30. Each person should of course bear his or her share of the expense.
32. He went right home and told his father.
35. This hat is not so large as mine.
36. My position in the company was satisfactory from every point of view.
38. I expect he knows his subject.
39. Reverend Jones will preach.
42. In the case of students who elect an extra subject, an additional fee is charged.
44. I for one hope he will be there.
48. Under these circumstances I will concede the point.
49. I have no prejudices, and that is the cause of my unpopularity.
50. You may ask whomsoever you please.
51. You are older than me.
56. The honest person is to be applauded.
57. He stood in front of the class to speak.
59. This much is certain.
60. He did not do as well as we expected.

A. (cont.)

61. We got home at three o'clock.

62. He has no fear; nothing can confuse him.

67. As regards the League, let me say...

70. "You just had a telephone call." "Did they leave any message?"

71. I was attacked by one of those huge police dogs.

73. This was the reason why he went home.

79. The data is often inaccurate.

84. I drove the car around the block.

85. He doesn't do it the way I do.

87. Will you go? Sure.

90. Our catch was pretty good.

94. We have made some progress along these lines.

100. My colleagues and I shall be glad to help you.

102. That will be all right, you may be sure.

103. We will try and get it.

107. Leave me alone, or else get out.

111. I can hardly stand him.

112. He was home all last week.

113. I'd like to make a correction.

123. The man was very amused.

126. That's a dangerous curve; you'd better go slow.

127. There are some nice people here.

133. Will you be at the Shahs' this evening?

135. I don't know if I can.

156. My viewpoint on this is that we ought to make concessions.

165. This room is awfully cold.

A. (cont.)

166. Yes, our plan worked just fine.

227. The child was weak, due to improper feeding.

230. Is your insurance sufficient coverage for your house?

B. DISPUTABLE USAGE

3. That clock must be fixed.

5. Why pursue a vain hope?

6. My contention has been proven many times.

7. John had awoken much earlier than usual.

9. Ray, who was then in town, was with me the three or four first days.

12. The invalid was able partially to raise his body.

13. One rarely likes to do as he is told.

16. It behooves them to take action at once.

17. He never works evenings or Sundays.

18. I had rather go at once.

21. They have gotten a new car this year.

22. The bus depot burned down last night.

25. I took it to be they.

26. Now just where are we at?

31. A women whom I know was my friend spoke next.

33. Galileo discovered that the earth moved.

37. He could write as well or better than I.

40. I can't seem to get this problem right.

41. He toils to the end that he may amass wealth.

43. The defendant's case was hurt by this admission.

45. This is the chapter whose contents cause most discussion.

46. I was pretty mad about it.

52. All came except she.

53. The party who wrote that was a journalist.

54. What are the chances of them being found out?

55. There is a big woods behind the house.

B. (cont.)

58. I know it to be he.

63. Do you wish for some ice cream?

64. My Uncle Roger, he told me a story.

66. There is a large works near the bridge...

68. Intoxication is when the brain is affected by certain stimulants.

69. Neither of your reasons are really valid.

72. The women were all dressed up.

74. He dove off the pier.

75. I calculate to go soon.

77. That ain't so.

78. Trollope's novels have already begun to date.

80. He looked at me and says...

81. This book is valueless, the one has more to recommend it.

82. Take two cups of flour.

83. None of them are here.

86. The Bangalore climate is healthiest in winter.

88. He is kind of silly, I think.

89. One is not fit to vote at the age of eighteen.

91. I will probably come a little late.

93. Ain't that just like a man?

95. The goalie stands back of the goal line.

96. That was the reason for me leaving school.

97. Both leaves of the drawbridge raise at once.

99. I have drunk all my milk.

101. I went immediately into the banquet room, which was, I found later, a technical error.

104. We cannot discover from whence the rumor emanates.

B. (cont.)

105. I'll swear that was him.

106. The light is lit.

109. The old dog was to no sense agreeable.

110. Of two disputants, the warmest is generally in the wrong.

114. I've absolutely got to go.

115. It was good and cold when I came in.

116. We haven't but a few left.

117. In the collision with a Ford, our car naturally got the worse of it.

118. I wouldn't have said that if I had thought it would have shocked her.

119. They ate (pronounced as et) at twelve o'clock.

120. Yourself and your guests are invited.

124. Such naif actions seem to me absurd.

125. We can expect the commission to at least protect our interests.

128. It seems to be them.

129. Everybody bought their own ticket.

130. Say, do you know who that is?

134. Have you fixed the fire for the night?

136. In hopes of seeing you, I asked...

137. I suppose that's him.

138. I can't help but eat it.

139. Aren't ('nt or ænt) I right?

140. There is a row of beds with a curtain between each bed.

142. It says in the book that...

143. If it wasn't for football, school life would be dull.

144. His attack on my motives made me peevish.

145. I have a heap of work to do.

B. (cont.)

146. If I asked him, he would likely refuse.

147. John didn't do so bad this time.

149. We taxied to the station to catch the train.

150. We only had one left.

152. Everybody's else affairs are his concern.

157. Factories were mostly closed on election day.

158. That boy's mischievous behavior aggravates me.

162. He moves mighty quick on a tennis court.

163. He stopped to price some furniture.

164. He worked with much snap.

168. The fire captain with his loyal men were cheered.

169. Don't get these kind of shoes.

170. Who are you looking for?

171. A treaty was concluded between the four powers.

172. You had to have property to vote, in the eighteenth century.

173. The kind of apples you mean are large and sour.

174. The Americans look at this differently than we do.

177. I felt badly about his death.

178. The real reason he failed was because he tried to do too much.

179. Invite whoever you like to the party.

180. Drive slow down that hill!

182. My cold wasn't any better next day.

183. It is liable to rain tonight.

184. Harry was a little boy about this tall.

185. I didn't speak to my uncle by long distance; I couldn't get through.

186. They had numerous strikes in England.

B. (cont.)

189. I have got my own opinion on that.

190. He made a date for next week.

191. I suppose I'm wrong, ain't I?

193. John was raised by his aunt.

195. My father walked very slow down the street.

196. There was a bed, a table, and two chairs in the room.

197. They invited my friends and myself.

198. It is now plain and evident why he left.

200. He did noble.

201. My experience on the farm helped me some, of course.

202. I wish I was wonderful.

204. It's real hot today.

206. What was the reason for Sheila making that disturbance?

207. Can I be excused from this class?

208. Haven't you got through yet?

210. We don't often see sunsets like they have in Bombay.

211. Just set down and rest awhile.

212. Everyone was here, but they all went home early.

213. He loaned me his skates.

214. I am older than him.

215. She leaped off of the moving car.

216. My folks sent me a money order.

217. He came around four o'clock.

218. If it had been us, we would admit it.

222. They went way around by the orchard road.

223. The banker loaned me Rs. 1000 at 7%.

B. (cont.)

224. It looked <u>like</u> they meant business.

225. Do it <u>like</u> he tells you.

226. They <u>swang</u> their partners in the reel.

228. <u>Rams</u> Store is on Queen's Street.

C. ILLITERATE SPEECH

8. If Johnny had of come, I needn't have.

14. I haven't hardly any money.

15. The engine was hitting good this morning.

23. Can I use your typewriter? No, it's broke.

24. Sitting in back of John, he said, "Now guess what I have."

27. The kitten mews whenever it wants in.

34. He drunk too much soda water.

47. Either of these three roads is good.

65. He begun to make excuses.

76. This is all the further I can read.

92. I must go and lay down.

98. The people which were here have all gone.

108. That there rooster is a fighter.

121. One of my brothers were helping me.

122. I enjoy wandering among a library.

131. A light complected girl passed.

132. I want for you to come at once.

141. He won't leave me come in.

148. There was a orange in the dish.

151. Cities and villages are being stripped of all they contain not only, but often of their very inhabitants.

153. It was dark when he come in.

154. It don't make any difference what you think.

155. I read in the paper where a plane was lost.

159. That bank drash left me busted.

160. You was mistaken about that, John.

161. Neither author nor publisher are subject to censorship.

C. (cont.)

167. I wish he hadn't of come.

175. Hadn't you ought to ask your mother?

176. Most anybody can do that.

181. He most always does what his wife tells him.

187. They went in search for the missing child.

188. I will go, providing you keep away.

192. I had hardly laid down again when the phone rang.

194. Martha don't sew as well as she used to.

199. It sure was good to see Uncle Charles.

203. I've no doubt but what he will come.

205. Somebody run past just as I opened the door.

209. His presence was valueless not only, but a hindrance as well.

219. She sung very well.

220. It is only a little ways farther.

221. The neighbors took turns setting up with him.

229. The sailors laid out along the yards.

Certain conclusions can be drawn from the survey and from comments made by Indian linguists. English is not a primary language (L^1) in India. Fr. Antonisami, S.J. of Loyola College, Madras, writes: "There is no colloquial English [as such] in India except in very limited circles." Thomas Paikeday, a lexicographer, writes: "Most of the expressions marked C [*illiterate speech*] is not in use here." A second linguist makes the following observation: "I have left several unmarked on the IBM cards either because I have not observed the usage of the word underlined or because I have not been able to assess the degree of formality/informality of a particular usage." However, Sister Sheila O'Neill, vice-principal of Stella Maris College, Madras, writes: ". . . several of these expressions are not heard at all in South India, while a few others are just coming into use among the young, who adopt them deliberately as Americanisms." Professor V. J. Augustine writes: "we have no proper 'slang' or accepted dialect forms in our English (except perhaps 'cousin-brother,' 'cousin-sister,' etc.)." I can conclude in the light of this survey that Indian English is based on written English style. Mr. Agoram writes: "Since the English language is learnt through standard books, periodicals, and men of eminence, it is more chaste and admirable." (I do agree with Mr. Agoram's premise, but not with the conclusion which is a *non sequitur*.) According to Kachru, there are two reasons for the "bookishness" of Indian English. The first is that in both written and spoken media, Indian bilinguals tend to use certain lexical items that have been dropped or are less frequent in

modern English. Samuel Mathai writes:

> Although there were 'English' teachers of English in many of the schools and colleges of India, inevitably the Indian learned a great deal of his English from books. Indian English was therefore always inclined to be bookish, and not adequately in touch with the living English of the day; and when we remember that the books which we re-read as models of good English were the works of Shakespeare and Milton and other great poets and dramatists and prose writers, it is not surprising that the more eloquent utterances of Indians (whether spoken or written) were often garnished with phrases and turns of expression taken from the great writers. Sometimes these phrases were used without proper recognition of their archaic or obsolescent or poetic character.

The second reason is that the spoken medium is not taught as an academic discipline in India. Students are not taught to speak English but to write English. That is why Indian English does not sound conversational.

Finally, as the survey indicates, there are considerable similarities between Indian English and its sister languages in England, America, and elsewhere. Most of the established items on the survey are considered as <u>established</u> in the Leonard Survey; so are the <u>disputable</u> expressions and samples of <u>illiterate</u> speech. With Randolph Quirk and Albert Marckwardt, one can speak of the English language written and spoken in India, England, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand as "a common language". At the same time, in the light of the special features of Indian English, one can say with justification that a variety of educated English has developed in a different linguistic and cultural context in India. Not only have Indian languages Indianized the English language, but English has contributed substantially to the Indian languages. Therefore, the influence has been mutual. If we can call

modern English the result of the marriage between Anglo-Saxon and Norman French, with equal rights we can say that Indian English is the result of the union of British English and Indian cultural-linguistic context. Indeed, English language today is an international language with different varieties in different countries.

NOTES

[1]See S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, A History of Education in India (Bombay, 1951).

[2]Braj B. Kachru, "English in South Asia," Current Trends in Linguistics, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok, V (1969), pp. 628-33.

[3]See Julius Richter, A History of Missions in India, trans. Sydney H. Moore (New York and Chicago, 1908); N. N. Law, Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers. (London, 1915).

[4]Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839), 99-101.

[5]The Official Languages Act 1963 (No. 19, 1963), Government of India. See Jyotindra Das Gupta, "Official Language Problems and Policies in South Asia," Current Trends in Linguistics, V, pp. 592-93: "The Act of 1963, however, satisfied none. The non-Hindi states did not like the way it was phrased. Section 3 of this Act stipulates that English may be used, not that it shall be used. In the perception of the non-Hindi elite, this was a concession to Hindi pressures. In many parts of India there were vocal protests. In Madras the protest took a violent turn. On January 17, 1965, the Madras State Anti-Hindi Conference urged the Tamil people to resist Hindi. A week later the students declared "Hindi never, English ever." Violent demonstrations against the Congress Government continued for about two months in the state of Madras. More than seventy persons lost their lives, fifteen hundred students were arrested, and three million dollars worth of public property was destroyed. . . The Congress Party decided to amend the Official Language Act of 1963 to implement the three language formula." See also R. L. Hardgrave, "The Riots in Tamilnad: Problems and Prospects of India's Language Crisisn" Asian Survey, V (1965), 390-407; S. Rajan, "India's Linguistic Dilemma," The Reporter, XXXII, 9 (1965), 31-32.

[6]M. A. K. Halliday, A. McIntosh, and P. Strevens, The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching (London, 1964), p. 203.

[7]See M. R. Anand, The King-Emperor's English (Bombay, 1948); V. N. Bhushan, The Moving Finger (Bombay, 1945); P. E. Dastoor, The World of Words (Bombay, 1968); Braj B. Kachru, "The Indianness in Indian English", Word, XXI (1965); Kachru, "Indian English: A Study in Contextualization," In Memory of J. R. Firth, ed. C. E. Bazell et all. pp. 255-267; Randolph Quirk and Albert Marckwardt A Common Language (London, 1964) p. 11: "We come increasingly to speak nowadays of 'Australian English', 'New Zealand English', and 'Indian English' . . ."

[8]Braj B. Kachru, "Indian English," op. cit., p. 255.

NOTES-2

[9]Ibid., p. 282.

[10]M. A. K. Halliday, "Categories of the Theory of Grammar," Word, XVII (1963), 248-49.

[11]Kachru, op. cit., p. 255. For a bibliography, see Kachru, "English in South Asia," op. cit., pp. 638-39.

[12]R. K. Bansal, The Intelligibility of Indian English (Hyderabad, 1969), p. 170.

[13]Ibid., p. 169.

[14]Ibid., p. 170.

[15]Gopalkrishnan, "Some Observations on the South Indian Pronunciation of English", Teaching English, VI (1960), pp. 62-67.

[16]Kachru, "English In South Asia," op. cit., p. 643.

[17]H. H. Wilson, A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms of British India (Calcutta, 1940). Ryot and ryotwar are examples.

[18] N. Yule and A. C. Burnell, Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words . . . (London, 1903).

[19]Ibid., p. xv.

[20]C. A. M. Fennell, Preface in The Stanford Dictionary of Anglicised Words and Phrases, (Cambridge, 1892), xi.

[21]M-S Sergeantsen, A History of Foreign Words in English (New York, 1961).

[22]G. Subba Rao, Indian Words in English (Oxford, 1954).

[23]See also Kachru, "English in South Asia", pp. 650-54.

[24]P. E. Dastoor, "Missing and Intrusive Articles in Indian English", Allahabad University Studies, XXXII (1955), pp. 1-17.

[25]Kachru, "An Analysis of Some Features of Indian English: A Study in Linguistic Method", Ph.D. Dissertation (Edinburgh, 1962).

NOTES-3

[26]A. F. Kindersley, "Notes on the Indian Idiom of English: Style, Syntax and Vocabulary," TPhS (Oxford, 1938), pp. 25-34.

[27]Samuel Mathai, "The Position of English in India", British and American English Since 1900, ed. E. Partridge and J. W. Clark (New York, 1951), pp. 97-98.

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